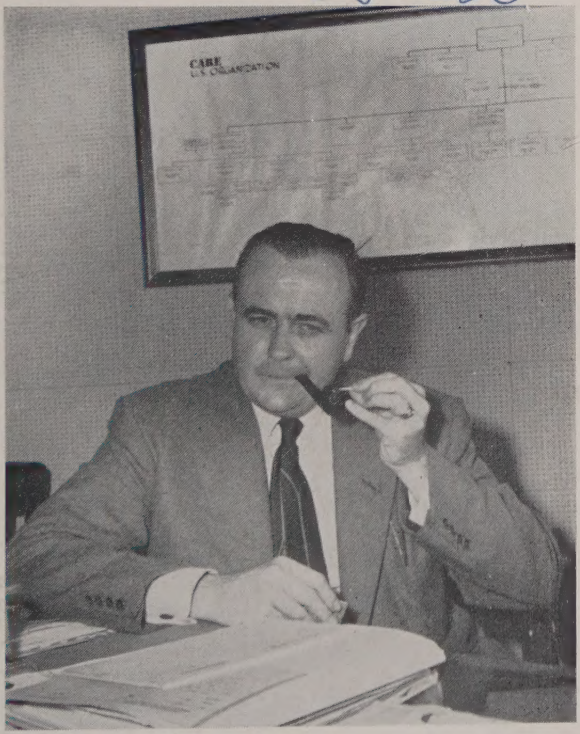
September 1955

Fellowship

Einstein Russell Stokes



RICHARD W. REUTER *Director*

30¢

Nuclear Weapons and Genetics

by Harold Miller

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FELLOWSHIP

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Lovey-Dovey

Sweetness and light rule the international scene these days. The erstwhile antagonists in the cold war look more and more like long-lost buddies at last reunited, an impression heightened by the bonhomie exhibited by those two old foxhole cronies, General Eisenhower and Marshal Zhukov. The Chiang-Knowland-McCarthy forces are in dismayed retreat, and a pacifist was heard to worry audibly about what functions the FOR could take on "now that war is virtually ended."

The latter concern is likely to prove premature, but there is a sense in which pacifists may need to shift emphasis, or perhaps more important, attitudes. What the new sweet accord between East and West means, among other things, is that orthodox political and military leaders have stepped off the firm ground of uncounted centuries and are floundering around in a quagmire of uncertainty. Heretofore, no matter how strange and unfamiliar the paths along which they ventured in search of solutions to conflict, they could take comfort from the knowledge that just a few steps to the right lay the solid and familiar ground of war.

That is no longer the case. Military and political leaders are men like the rest of us, and like the rest of us they have been slowly assimilating the dread fact that war is now impossible. The deterrent effect of nuclear weapons has turned

out to extend considerably beyond what that expression used to imply, and the present billing and cooing represent an attempt to find an accommodation to that fact until statesmen can readjust their thinking to a whole new world.

The resultant opportunity for genuine work for peace is immense. With faith in the efficacy of war shaken so violently, men will begin to listen more attentively to talk of other ways to peace. The present relaxation is not peace, and in itself will not lead to peace. Armaments do not cause war, and disarmament will not end war. Inspection systems and agreements on arms limitations may relieve the tension, but the tension will rise again unless basic economic and political causes of war are dealt with. Here it is that the pacifist has something relevant to say. It is important that he say it clearly while the opportunity remains.

Speak Truth . . .

It is a happy coincidence that the American Friends Service Committee should have published its new booklet, *Speak Truth to Power,*[1] just at this time. Prepared by a working committee all but two of whose members are active members of FOR, the new booklet provides the clearest, most forthright statement of the pacifist view of current world issues, and of the political and moral implications of the pacifist position, published in years. It should be a basic part of every pacifist's bookshelf.

The Economics of Peace

More than Marxists recognize these days the enormous importance of economic imbalance to the question of whether the world is to have war or peace, but the total problem becomes daily a more perplexing paradox. On the one hand, the size of the world's population appears to make the continuation of the system we call industrialism imperative. It

[1] *Speak Truth to Power.* American Friends Service Committee, 1955. 72 pp. 25c paper cover; $1 board binding. A review will appear in a future issue of FELLOWSHIP.

is only through the technological multiplication of man's efforts that two and a half billion people can be fed decently, let alone given proper medical care, education, and so on.

On the other hand, there appears to be reason to believe that the kind of standard of living enjoyed by our industrialized United States—and frequently cited as a goal for the rest of the world to shoot at—is beyond the capacity of the globe's resources to support.

"In order to maintain these high living standards," writes British economist Wilfred Wellock,[2] "the United States consumes almost as much raw material as the rest of the world put together. She requires a bigger acreage per person to supply her necessary foodstuffs than does any other country. In consequence she is rapidly exhausting her own resources and calling upon world supplies at a steadily increasing rate. . . . Who can calculate the consequences of a world struggle for the earth's resources were every nation to embark on an economy after the American pattern? Within twenty years the world would be in a morass of economic tensions such as has never been known."

CD Notes

Things continue to drift in about the big civil defense exercise last June. We note some of them for your files.

¶ CD Director Howard Earl, of Los Angeles County, announced that 432,000 "could have moved out of the blast, heat and radioactive area," and not more than half of these would have received fatal radiation doses. The population of the "target area" in question is 3,284,000.

¶ From Pasadena, CD officials estimated that half that city's population would attempt to flee, and that four-fifths of them would be stalled by a bottleneck at near-by Monrovia and there be caught in the open, still in the fall-out pattern.

¶ National CD Director Val Peterson, who appears to divide

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[2] *Not by Bread Alone*, by Wilfred Wellock, a Peace News pamphlet "study of America's expanding economy." July, 1955. 16 pp. 10c.

his time between feverish attempts to find a way to save everybody from atomic attack and impassioned declarations that it can't be done, told the House Appropriations Committee on June 29 some of the things that could be expected to happen to American cities in the event of nuclear bombing. New Orleans could become a radioactive lake; Chicago might be swept by radioactive tidal waves from Lake Michigan; any number of the largest cities might well have to be "written off," impossible ever to live in or even enter again, he said.

Quotes

"It is accurate to say that we live in a bang-bang civilization. At the very top of our picture straddles that dreadful master-symbol of violence, the hydrogen bomb. At the bottom is the young hoodlum with his knife and gun. In between are the media of entertainment and instruction that make shooting, stabbing, and other forms of violence and killing routine matters. When we look at our national face we wonder how anybody could help loving us and the American way of life. But to much of the world we present a culture of violence rarely equalled in the history of the civilized world."

—*Hartford* (Conn.) *Courant,* May 3, 1955

"The Pentagon's objection [to a disarmament plan proposed by Harold Stassen] was mainly on the ground that Mr. Stassen's plan did not provide for sufficiently comprehensive inspection. However, sources said that the Pentagon had raised similar objections to virtually every disarmament plan ever discussed in Washington."

—News story in the *New York Times,* August 1, 1955.

Note on a Project

Senator Ralph Flanders of Vermont proposed in the Senate, on a hot day late in July, that American planes "bomb" China with some of our surplus food.

nuclear weapons and genetics

. . . Our present war preparations will produce effects on future generations who will be carrying on human civilization long after our present quarrels are forgotten . . .

by Harold Miller

NINE YEARS ONLY separate the devastation of Hiroshima from the H-bomb test at Bikini. Newspapers not long ago illustrated the effects of the latest bomb by maps of our cities on which zones of destruction could be marked in circles of radii of one or perhaps two miles.

Today we have maps marked with cigar-shaped areas 140 miles long to the windward of the explosive center—areas in which any person who remains in the open exposed to the deposition of radioactive material from the atmosphere is almost certain to die—and larger areas in which the chances of surviving such exposure are small. The blast effect of such bombs must now be estimated as equivalent to millions, instead of thousands, of tons of TNT.

It seems unlikely that if a nuclear war were to break out genetics would play a substantial role in deciding immediate events. It is necessary that these considerations be widely understood now, since even in peacetime development of nuclear weapons can no longer be claimed to be free from risk of

harm to our descendants.

Men of past generations have not been particularly successful in avoiding long-term effects following their abuse of the natural resources of their world. Because of their ignorance we now accept as part of our heritage deserts and dust bowls. **Many facts about the genetic dangers of radiation may still be unknown, but enough is known already to make clear that our present war preparations will produce effects on future generations who will be carrying on human civilization long after our present quarrels are forgotten.**

Heredity

In spite of all the tremendous effects of our nurture, we human beings cannot escape from our hereditary beginnings. Since we all start as a single fertilized cell these characteristics must somehow be determined by the chemical arrangements of the constituents of that cell. These hereditary factors are located in that single cell along special threadlike structures called chromosomes. The hereditary factors are called genes. In a particular individual the chromosome structure is faithfully repeated as the cells divide and accumulate during growth.

Radiations of the type we are now considering—the so-called ionizing radiations—arising from radioactive materials or X-ray equipment, have a profound effect on the detailed structure of the living cell. In particular, chromosomes may be broken by them and the genes on any chromosome may be modified. Such modifications are called mutations. If they occur in the special cells taking part in mating, normal development may be hindered. This results either in the death of the cell or of the embryo to which it gives rise, or in an abnormal child if the embryo survives to produce a live birth. The child, for instance, may be grossly deformed or, because of some less obvious abnormality may have lowered health or vitality. In plant breeding such mutants have been deliberately produced by radiation and accepted as interesting new forms. In man, mutations are a social and personal tragedy if they result in a living person. Even if death occurs in the prenatal stage mutations will, in many cases, represent personal tragedies to parents.

Most gene mutuations are likely to occur in only one cell of a pair which fuse at mating. In this case the effect on the developed individual is likely to be swamped by the effect of the corresponding normal gene from the other parent. It is then said to be recessive. In this case, though it will be reproduced in the germ cells of future descendants, it will not result in a visibly abnormal individual until a child is born from two parents who have the same mutation. Mutations of this kind represent contamination of the stream of human hereditary material producing evil results generations after the mutated gene first appeared.

The Author, Harold Miller, is a medical physicist, in Sheffield, England. His article was written for **Reconciliation,** the British FOR magazine, by whose permission it is used here.

A consideration of the risk of genetic damage involved in present military activities must begin with two established facts. The first is that the same mutations which can be produced by ionizing radiations also occur spontaneously. This accounts for some stillbirths and for the birth of some grossly deformed children. Professor J. B. S. Haldane, the geneticist, has said that about 4 percent of babies born in London are stillborn or die in their first month. He considers that a quarter of these deaths are due to mutations in earlier generations.

The second fact is that we are all subjected continuously to bombardment by ionizing radiations arising from naturally occurring radioactive material in our soil, building materials, and from cosmic radiation coming to us from space. Man has lived with these radiations since he appeared on earth. There is a large variation in the intensity of this natural radiation over the inhabited world and communities at high altitudes receive about twice as much as those at sea level.

There are, however, many unknown facts about the effects we are discussing which make even a rough estimate of the genetic danger very difficult. It is not known, for example, what proportion of the spontaneous mutations are due to natural radiations and what are due to other causes. Geneticists do not know how much radiation is required to produce an appreciable effect on the mutation rate in man.

Most information on the genetic effect of radiations is obtained by observations on living species in which reproduction rate is very rapid. A common test object is a species of fruit fly, for which the amount of radiation necessary to cause a doubling of the spontaneous mutation rate is known approximately. But it is extremely difficult to argue on the basis of animal tests what is the likely effect on human beings. Until such information is available, an estimate of the magnitude of the danger cannot be made with accuracy.

The Ionizing Radiations

A second fact needed is an accurate estimate of the amount of extra radiation to which the world's population has already been subjected because of nuclear weapon tests.

There is no doubt that increased exposure to radiation has already occurred. Physical instruments detect the accumulation of radioactive material all over the world. It is easy to demonstrate the accumulation of the fission product, radioactive iodine, in the thyroid glands of cattle feeding in places thousands of miles from a test explosion. This is small compared to the level of "dangerous" thyroid accumulation, but is, nevertheless, an illustration of the widespread diffusion of active products and the possibilities of its measurement.

Report from America

The American report on the effects of the hydrogen bomb said that residents in the U.S.A. have received from all nuclear detonations to date about the same exposure as is received from one chest X-ray. Even a small dose of radiation, however, produces some genetic effect of the type we have been considering. The whole body exposure of the whole population to a dose of this magnitude is much more serious genetically than the present practice of taking chest ra-

diographs in which the reproductive organs are not exposed to radiation. The *British Medical Journal* pointed out that most of the dose mentioned in the American report probably came from the few hydrogen bombs tested about a year ago, since these bombs produce one hundred to one thousand times more radioactivity than earlier types. They infer that continuation of tests on the 1954 scale would double the natural amount of radiation.

Mutation Rate

Doubling the natural amount of radiation, however, can hardly lead to disastrous results and does not, as we have seen, mean a doubling of the mutation rate. Sir John Cockroft has recently given some figures on additional radiation exposure in England as a result of the nuclear bomb tests so far made. Using the best evidence available, and accepting the suggestion of one of the world's leading geneticists that an increase in the mutation rate by 25 percent is to be avoided, he concludes that this additional exposure is small compared to any possible danger level. The *Manchester Guardian,* in commenting on Sir John's statement, says that "it would be possible to explode as many as ten hydrogen bombs a year without producing in this country enough radioactivity to reach the level which for want of a better criterion has been assumed to lead to dangerous consequences." One assumes that the explosions are supposed to take place in Bikini.

What are readers of FELLOWSHIP to make of these arguments? The possible genetic hazard arising from the testing of military weapons is evidently considered justifiable to prevent our being put at a military disadvantage. We do not know how far this consideration will be modified by later knowledge of the magnitude of the effect. The possibility of making calm decisions on these matters, though it exists now, will not exist if the international situation deteriorates. It is clear that the acceptance of war involves the preparation for war and this means acceptance of genetic hazards along with other effects of war. The Christian case against war is not much influenced by this new danger, however, nor by the numerical value which experimental work may fix in the future for the effects of radiation on human gene mutation.

Must Avoid Bias

It is important, however, that we carefully avoid the error of selecting facts that present a biased picture. The ease with which this can be done is shown by the worldwide publicity given to the figures of abnormal births in Nagasaki since 1945. Figures indicated that of the children born in Nagasaki one in seven were abnormal. This has been widely taken as indicating a genetic effect of the bomb. As Professor Coulson pointed out, however, these figures may not be used as arguments for this effect, since they are typical of Japan as a whole. The reported abnormalities, incidentally, included many quite minor ones of interest only to the geneticist. The 30,150 births reported were among the whole population in Nagasaki over this period and included those who were too far away from the bomb blast to be influenced by the radiation and those who came there to live

after 1945. About two-thirds of the parents concerned were in the last category. If these births are divided between those who were exposed to radiation and those who were not, the proportion of "malformed" offspring in the two groups is practically identical! A real effect cannot be demonstrated by most rigorous analysis. This does not, of course, prove that genetic effects are not real. It is doubtful whether genetic effects can be expected in the first generation of children of irradiated parents. They must rather be looked for many generations hence.

Studies of the effects of the bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki are still being carried out by the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission in the former city. This is work of which we should be well informed. We cannot, however, avoid the conclusion that the witness of the Fellowship rests on its understanding of the mind of Christ. Genetic damages are additional facts about war and war preparations of which we need to be aware, but they remain a minor part of our attack on an institution so fundamentally contrary to God's will.

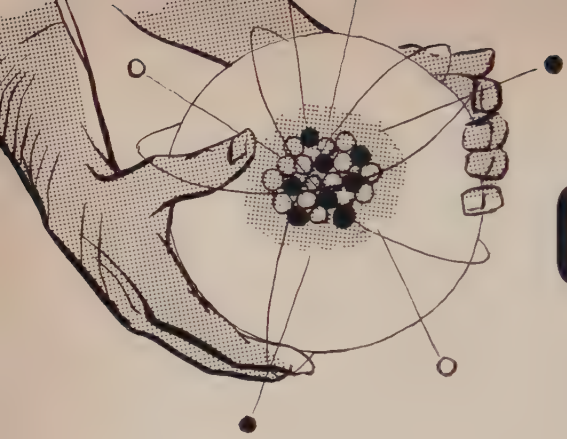
Mountains to be Removed

In the shaping of the new world that is to be, there must be some cutting away. There are mountains to be removed and the dirt and soot of ashes to be washed clean. Peacemaking is not all pitter, patter, gently splashing, on a clean, clear window. It is the dashing against barriers, the roaring and sweeping down upon obstacles, the steady grinding on hard, hard stones; the eroding of the soft and unstable to find the solid beneath; the being put under pressure to drown out fires; being held in suspension to refresh the earth.

The greatest reality within the symbol of the raindrop for peacemakers is its eternal quality. It can never be destroyed. Men may throw it out—it waters the spot where it falls, nourishing the growth of life. It evaporates, only to fall as refreshing rain again. It disappears into the earth after showers, to reappear in springs and wells from underground reservoirs. It is impossible to destoy it. It is always good for something. This is its strength. "The water that I shall give him will become in him a spring of water welling up to eternal life."

This is our task. The beatitudes of Jesus reveal our command within the Order of the Raindrop: To lay hold upon the imaginations of men and grip them with the power of a single individual, united to every other individual through the love of God, symbolized afresh in a drop of water.

—from **The Power of the Raindrop** by Alberta Lunger



NO GUARANTE

by M. Rajagopalachari

Recently the Hindu, of Madras, printed a letter from a friend in the United Kingdom which refers to Mr. Rajagopalachari's support of Sir Richard Acland's protest against British H-bomb policy at the time of the British general election. The letter asks: "What guarantee is there that the Communist nations—especially the Soviets—will not resort to atomic warfare once they see the diminution or disappearance of America's power to wage it?" This is the reply of Mr. Rajagopalachari, who, it may be remembered, was formerly Prime Minister of Madras and then the first president of India when it became an independent member of the Commonwealth.

IT IS THE MISFORTUNE of mankind that we stand today just where we always stood, in opposition to evil, not knowing what to do when violence wielded by evil threatens to overwhelm and win. There is no devil-proof assured defense against evil and violence. Retaliatory violence only prolongs and increases wickedness. There is no wiser formula than what you have in Jesus' words. I refer to him, as, being a Christian, you can best understand him.

To your particular question—What guarantee is there that the Communist nations, especially the Soviets, will not resort to atomic warfare once they see the diminution or disappearance of America's power to wage it?—there is and there can be no "guarantee." The

Soviets have definitely offered to give up nuclear weapons if America and the Western Powers agree to give them up.

The other side can urge the same fears as you entertain and there is no end to that kind of fear and mutual accusation.

No Deterrent

The idea that nuclear weapons act as a deterrent will not last long. The probabilities are that these preparations and advertisements will only induce an anticipatory attack on some trifling or inadequate pretext. That is nuclear strategy for anyone.

The atmosphere created by this deterrent is most dangerous and makes all approach to trust impossible.

I cannot and do not wish to speak as a prophet but I am certain that if America and Britain declare that they wash their hands of this business, the Soviets will not attack Britain or Europe with nuclear weapons but will also soon drop manufacturing them. If Britain should sternly discourage America, the U.S.S.R. will not make any nuclear attack on Britain or Europe.

The fact is that America has now made up her mind step by step that her nuclear investment should be a defense against every kind of attack, be it with conventional weapons or nuclear. This in my opinion is a definite deterioration of the position. But this is inevitable if we do not hasten to prohibit this nuclear development in warfare. If I am right, America makes no distinction now between one kind of weapon and another—which is a definite retrogression in civilization.

Preparation for mass destruction is no answer to the problem of wickedness in the world.

In any event, my claim remains that the rest of the world is entitled to demand nuclear Powers to desist from explosions and manufacture of by-products. That, distributed deliberately or otherwise, would endanger the world's health and that of future generations. America's fears and ideals of strategy cannot terminate the rights of peaceful nations.

An Example

Suppose India had got some diabolical inspiration and encouragement—not inconceivable—and had begun making weapons to crush or intimidate Pakistan or to defend herself against Pakistan's alleged aggressive intentions and her incorrigible tendency to attack India, and these preparations of India involved test explosions which make it dangerous for countries in the world. Do you think the West and the UN would have kept looking? I fear that if India did half what America has done on account of her fear of the USSR, India would have been a pitiful delinquent before the US, with sympathy from none in the world.

Forgive my trying to make my point clear by harsh comparisons.

Man has to continue to live dangerously. There can be no guaranteed bulwark against exaggerated fears. Can anyone honestly aver that Russia's nuclear activity was started for the purpose of attacking Britain or Europe and not in self-protection against America's publicized program of making nuclear weapons?

BUY FOR Christmas Cards!

Step up, folks, for a preview of a world tour. Visit India, Japan, Viet Nam, South America, Africa, tied up in the ribbons of a CARE package. Or pick up a self-help "undesignated" bundle and sprinkle gold dust to brighten up the world's landscape.

CATALYST FOR PEACE

by Eleanor Middleton

NINE YEARS AGO, back in May, 1946, the first shipload of CARE packages left the port of Philadelphia for Le Havre, France, and a new age of international food flight began.

It was not the first time that food and clothing had been sent to needy people overseas. One could not even honestly say that it was a bold and daring venture, aimed at curing the world of its economic ills. CARE was a conservative offspring, content, so to speak, to stay close to home. Where other organizations underscored their lofty preambles with mankind's hope for peace, CARE was content to take the role of middleman, announcing in a flat, unaccented voice: "*I am the cooperative effort of 22 major American welfare and service agencies who banded together after World War II to help less fortunate people overseas. My aim? To deliver the goods—that's all.*"

Even its name was tedious: The Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe. Unlike its more adventurous relatives, who were sometimes accused of being anti-American, or harboring Communists, CARE expanded like a proper

business venture. During its nine years of growth, it enjoyed an unusually healthy and even benevolent reputation among the American people.

CARE's Beginning

CARE was like that from the very beginning. Agencies operating their own overseas programs wanted CARE to do specific assigned functions to supplement their work. No overreaching of its limitations, no big big program, just relief packages *from* relatives and friends *to* relatives and friends in Europe. Above all, no "permanent" organization, so that CARE's charter was set up for only a five year period—to be renewed if circumstances dictated. Yet within that small sphere of operation, some of its members (the co-ops and the labor groups) got included in the charter the word "reconstruction" as well as "relief." Strange words for an organization that included among its backers the Lever Brothers Company and the Texsum Citrus Fruit Company! CARE never really cared about international relations, but it became, in time, a computer of the American heart. As the years passed, the statistics mounted!

On December 26, 1954, some 86 thousand units of CARE packages were processed at CARE's New York office. A visitor to that office learns that within five to eight hours after the mail comes in from the overseas CARE offices, receipts are en route to the original donors and contributors.

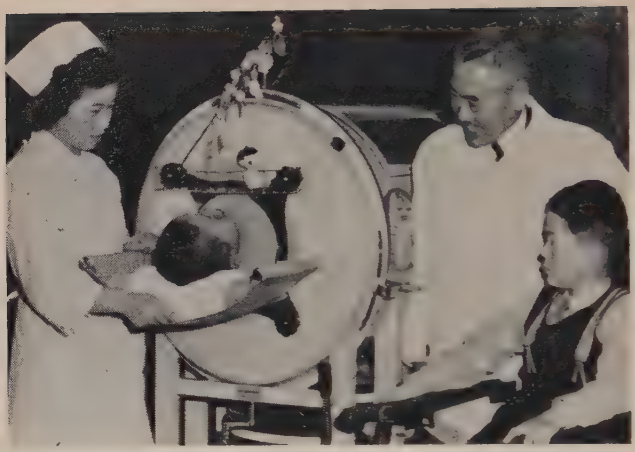
If you were that visitor, your eyes would blink at the boxes and boxes of schedules, the women who sit at the desks labeled "incoming," punching the myriad forms connected with the whole CARE operation, and you might comment rather smugly that this was no place for a person with individuality. This was the blurry and hectic atmosphere of the "machine shop," holding all the adventure of Dun and Bradstreet, drowsy with too much detail, unchanging and conservative in function. But then, pondering the cleanliness of the clutter and the hearty good will of the workers, you might start asking questions about CARE, as if you had found a pot at the end of the rainbow not quite where you had envisioned it.

They tell you about the time when CARE's offices were located in the New York Stock Exchange building. It was the first time Negroes ever worked in the Stock Exchange building. Faded memories of possible "trouble" appeared fuzzily in the foreground. CARE, however, just shrugged its shoulders and moved the whole staff in. Nothing happened. There was no fuss from the stock exchange. Such

DICK REUTER

Long-time FOR member, former CPS man, and for 4 years Deputy Director of CARE, Richard W. Reuter in July became Acting Executive Director, with the prospect that the "Acting" will be dropped this month. He succeeds Paul Comly French, wartime director of the National Service Board for Religious Objectors.

Dick's ambition is to make CARE a genuinely cooperative organization, ready and willing to assist other groups at whatever point it can. CARE's job, he feels, is moving materiel, and it must concentrate on doing that job in whatever ways will be most useful to the other groups with which it works.



Polio death rate in Japan has been appalling. CARE sent first iron lung to that country.

lack of bravado was in keeping with the established CARE philosophy.

A lot of different kinds of people work for CARE—in its overseas missions, its New York office, in Philadelphia, in the shipping department. They move in, or are taken, but CARE, again, is the old homestead where everyone and anyone is taken in. There isn't much to say about CARE's staff, except it is like the staff of any other efficient organization. You only become a little suspicious when you notice that on one European staff at one time, the whole group consisted of two former colonels in the U.S. Army and three ex-CPS men! You naturally ask how men of such completely different orientations, for whom the monad of black and white are often interchanged, can work so well together. Again, the answer lies in CARE's peculiar set-up as the middleman, the catalyst. Said Reuter, "CARE makes it apparent to an individual that he has a responsibility for his fellow man."

Quite a number of CPS men and other COs have been a part of CARE. They still tell about Arthur Gamble, director of Patapsco and other Friends Camps, who went to Poland for CARE several years ago. Gamble was one of those restless, incautious men who insisted upon living on the diet of the Polish economy without supplementary food. He was a CPS man, a conscientious objector.

The Polish people, war-racked and suspicious, were afraid of Americans, and particularly of American planes. Because of hard work and malnutrition, Gamble buckled under the strain, becoming seriously ill, but not before he had won the admiration and the almost classical respect of the Polish people—so much so that they actually allowed an American plane to enter Warsaw to bring Gamble back to Frankfurt for medical treatment—which, unfortunately, came too late.

There are other COs on the CARE rosters, too, but seldom, if ever, do even the more military-minded CARE people pay any attention to their philosophical "dif-

ferences." They would rather take you around and show you what a fine job these former CPS men did, how they contributed to CARE's past and present. There was Adrian Gory, former CARE Mission Chief in Japan and Israel, and Charles Bloomstein, former Mission Chief in France, now assigned to the New York CARE office. Bertram Smucker, a CPS man in a hospital unit, is CARE Mission Chief in Germany; George Mathues, assigned to a Catholic CPS unit, is Regional Chief of Region II (Northern Europe); and finally, Dick Reuter himself, executive director of CARE, who was at Big Flats CPS camp. Reuter, in his spare time, acts as treasurer for the National Council Against Conscription.

The names begin to sound very much alike. Arthur Billings, who preferred a jail sentence to CPS camp, and worked out his own defense on CO grounds to win his release, is CARE's Yugoslavia Mission Chief. Assistant Director of CARE's Packing Division in Philadelphia was Daniel Frysinger, another CPS man. And there is Arthur Sheehan and James Stanley, Walt Reed, and John Reimer. Reimer, a former head of CARE's Remittance Division, is now with the American Bible Society.

The horizon is smoked with names of other men involved with CARE and CPS, although not actually in a CPS unit. This group includes Paul Comly French, Josiah Marvel, Roy McCorkel, Joseph N. Weaver, and Jack Kavanaugh.

CARE began for Europe and spread rapidly to the other continents, until the thermometer that registers CARE package services swelled up, setting new records on the bright red marker. In nine years, it had brought 15 million

Two Greek farmers test the steel of their new CARE tools. Scene is from CARE's film: ". . . to Help Themselves."

people food, textiles, tool and plow packages, books, and scientific equipment to a total value of $200,000,000. The people who first benefited from CARE were Europeans. They were ordinary folk, who didn't count on miracles. But as they began to recover economically from the war, they turned to CARE, to help others, as they too, had once been helped. It wasn't "doing good," but the more human quality, of "repaying a debt." This is what you have to keep in mind when you look at CARE today.

The people of the Netherlands, for instance, who themselves received CARE emergency aid after the disastrous floods early in 1953, subscribed a substantial portion of the CARE packages that went to the victims of the recent Danube flood in Austria and West Germany. And in Israel, CARE sales had increased from less than 100 packages in 1951 to nearly 4,000 in 1953. With the ringing of the cash registers of new donor countries in its ears, CARE set up sales offices

in various countries where packages could be ordered at local currency prices. Austrians, making CARE purchases in schillings, sent packages to Israel, Germany, Yugoslavia, England, Italy, France, Scotland, Greece. The wheel had traveled full circle. It had really become the Cooperative for Remittances to *Everywhere*—so that became its name.

The staff back at CARE headquarters realized, on the other hand, that a subtle change had taken place in some of the packages slated for the original CARE countries. Economic recovery across the Atlantic meant that more people were asking for luxury items: sweetmeats, dainty fruits, cashew nuts. It was becoming, CARE reasoned, a question of relief and rehabilitation versus more "conspicuous consumption." Therefore, CARE decided after April 8, 1955, to discontinue package service to Great Britain, France, Belgium, Austria, Norway, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and West Germany (except Berlin).

On the other side of the coin, a new kind of CARE package had taken hold. Unlike the tidy, personal package, designated for a particular person known by the donor, this was an "undesignated" CARE self-help package, which sold anywhere from $4 to $18.50. Like the original CARE package, it was signed by the recipient, and the receipt forwarded to the donor—but there was a difference. This self-help package carried with it the unconscious symbol of a messenger who talks in any language. The messenger introduces two people to each other in a gesture that is spontaneous, informal, and genuine. For only $4.25, he delivers a tube of paste, water-color paints and brushes, a metric ruler, composition books, sewing needles, ruler and sharpener, a plastic box with rubber tipped eraser, to a child who needs it in some literacy project anyplace in the wide world. Currently, more than 28 percent of all CARE package purchases are in the form of these self-help bundles.

U.S. surplus has been turned over to CARE for delivery to Latin America, Yugoslavia, Berlin, Greece, Italy. In Korea, scrap metal is turned into CARE plows and tools by Koreans in order to resettle 42,000 repatriated families. The National University of Seoul and other institutes received more than $150,000 worth of books on medicine, agriculture, public health. In Africa, the hospital of Albert Schweitzer at Lambarene, French Equatorial Africa, received 400 blankets and several hundred skirts and dungarees. CARE plows and CARE-purchased bullock teams are aiding a missionary in Tanganyika establish the first farm cooperatives among the impoverished Banyamwezi people.

CARE in Viet Nam

Even before the cease-fire of July 21, 1954, CARE airlifted penicillin and other drugs to Viet Nam. Immediately upon the signing of the truce, CARE made an emergency appropriation to Vietnamese refugees. Advancing with food, the CARE people announced that every 60 cents contributed to CARE would feed a family of five for one day.

CARE resettler's tools are aiding refugees to build new homes on land assigned to them by West Germany. Recently two Italian immigrants stepped ashore with their families at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

They were the first two families brought to the "new" world by the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration. Both men were bricklayers by trade, but had no possessions except the clothes they wore. As they stepped ashore, they were each handed a welcome present, a CARE tool kit containing all the implements of their trade.

The world of CARE is the world outside. You can visit the CARE Missions, and watch the husbands and the womenfolk, the children barefoot, cluster about the CARE truck as it unloads its wares in a remote village center. "I remember a Greek orphanage one hot Sunday," recalls Dick Reuter, "and what I remember most of all was the kids tugging at my trousers. All they wanted was a little attention, someone to take a bit of interest in them. Not food, just that."

"They say you are lucky if the people getting the self-help packages can sign their name for the receipts," added an official at CARE "We get every signature, though. It's a way of people talking to people."

With these thoughts on CARE which always lead back to the present, you are also told that CARE must give a tab every year to Congress on its volume of support from other countries (now some 14 percent), as well as show Congress that Americans do want to give their help to "strangers." And CARE in doing this year after year, faces only the future, sensing that someday its offices may close down forever. But perhaps this, as CARE sees it, is a fine thing. If it could become the symbol of the melting pot of the faces of hurrying men and women, who, without consciousness of background, without even continuity in history, could all merge into a new visage, features still unformed, but living for the most part—in peace, CARE would never again need raise a voice. For this would be the normal thing and it would be more than content to have it that way.

Midwife kits to India make another of CARE's multitude of self-help services. Picture is from ". . . to Help Themselves."

Nine scientists call for the total renunciation of war

The Einstein-Russell STATEMENT

The historic document reprinted here was made public July 9th in London by Lord Bertrand Russell. It represented the last major effort for peace of the late Albert Einstein, and was sponsored by him, Lord Russell, and seven other prominent scientists, two of whom have been identified with the Communist bloc. FOR members will be interested to know that conferences between Einstein and members of the Society for Social Responsibility in Science shortly before the great physicist's death may have had an important influence on his decision to issue this statement. Members of FOR have been active in the leadership of SSRS since its organization.

THE ACCOMPANYING statement, which has been signed by some of the most eminent scientific authorities in different parts of the world, deals with the perils of a nuclear war. It makes it clear that neither side can hope for victory in such a war and that there is a very real danger of the extermination of the human race by dust and rain from radioactive clouds.

It suggests that neither the public nor the governments of the world are adequately aware of the danger. It points out that an agreed prohibition of nuclear weapons, while it might be useful in lessening tension, would not afford a solution, since such weapons would certainly be manufactured and used in a great war in spite of previous agreements to the contrary. The only hope for mankind is the avoidance of war. To call for a way of thinking which shall make such avoidance possible is the purpose of this statement.

The first move came as a collaboration between Einstein and myself. Einstein's signature was given in the last week of his life. Since his death I have approached men of scientific competence both in the East and in the West, for political disagreements should not influence men of science in estimating what is probable, but some of those approached have not yet replied. I

am bringing the warning pronounced by the signatories to the notice of all the powerful governments of the world in the earnest hope that they may agree to allow their citizens to survive.

—Bertrand Russell

Scientists' Statement

In the tragic situation which confronts humanity, we feel that scientists should assemble in conference to appraise the perils that have arisen as a result of the development of weapons of mass destruction ,and to discuss a resolution in the spirit of the appended draft.

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We are speaking on this occasion, not as members of this or that nation, continent or creed, but as human beings, members of the species man, whose continued existence is in doubt. The world is full of conflicts; and overshadowing all minor conflicts, the titanic struggle between communism and anti-communism.

Almost everybody who is politically conscious has strong feelings about one or more of these issues; but we want you, if you can, to set aside such feelings and consider yourselves only as members of a biological species which has had a remarkable history, and whose disappearance none of us can desire.

We shall try to say no single word which should appeal to one group rather than to another. All, equally, are imperiled, and, if the peril is understood, there is hope that they may collectively avert it.

We have to learn to think in a new way. We have to learn to ask ourselves, not what steps can be taken to give military victory to whatever group we prefer, for there no longer are such steps; the question we have to ask ourselves is: what steps can be taken to prevent a military contest of which the issue must be disastrous to all parties?

The general public, and even many men in position of authority, have not realized what would be involved in a war with nuclear bombs. The general public still thinks in terms of the obliteration of cities. It is understood that the new bombs are more powerful than the old, and that, while one A-bomb could obliterate Hiroshima, one H-bomb could obliterate the largest cities, such as London, New York and Moscow.

No doubt in an H-bomb war great cities would be obliterated. *But this is one of the minor disasters that would have to be faced.* If everybody in London, New York and Moscow were exterminated the world might, in the course of a few centuries, recover from the blow. But we now know, especially since the Bikini test, that nuclear bombs can gradually spread destruction over a very much wider area than has been supposed.

Power of New Bombs

It is stated on very good authority that a bomb can now be manufactured which will be 2,500 times as powerful as that which destroyed Hiroshima.

Such a bomb, if exploded near the ground or under water, sends radioactive particles into the upper air. They sink gradually and reach the surface of the earth in the form of a deadly dust or rain. It was this dust which infected the Japanese fishermen and their catch of fish.

No one knows how widely such lethal radioactive particles might be diffused, but the best authorities are unanimous in saying that a war

with H-bombs might quite possibly put an end to the human race. It is feared that if many H-bombs are used there will be universal death —sudden only for a minority, but for the majority a slow torture of disease and disintegration.

Many warnings have been uttered by eminent men of science and by authorities in military strategy. None of them will say that the worst results are certain. What they do say is that these results are possible, and no one can be sure that they will not be realized. We have not yet found that the views of experts on this question depend in any degree upon their politics or prejudices. They depend only, so far as our researches have revealed, upon the extent of the particular expert's knowledge. We have found that the men who know most are the most gloomy.

The Inescapable Problem

Here, then, is the problem which we present to you, stark and dreadful, and inescapable: shall we put an end to the human race; or shall mankind renounce war? People will not face this alternative because it is so difficult to abolish war. The abolition of war will demand distasteful limitations of national sovereignty. But what perhaps impedes understanding of the situation more than anything else is that the term "mankind" feels vague and abstract. People scarcely realize in imagination that the danger is to themselves and their children and their grandchildren, and not only to a dimly apprehended humanity. They can scarcely bring themselves to grasp that they, individually, and those whom they love are in imminent danger of perishing agonizingly. And so they hope that perhaps war may be allowed to continue provided modern weapons are prohibited.

An Illusory Hope

This hope is illusory. Whatever agreements not to use H-bombs had been reached in times of peace, they would no longer be considered binding in time of war, and both sides would set to work to manufacture H-bombs as soon as war broke out, for, if one side manufactured the bombs and the other did not, the side that manufactured them would inevitably be victorious.

Although an agreement to renounce nuclear weapons as part of a general reduction of armaments would not afford an ultimate solution, it would serve certain important purposes.

First: any agreement between East and West is to the good in so far as it tends to diminish tension. Second: the abolition of thermonuclear weapons, if each side believed that the other had carried it out sincerely, would lessen the fear of a sudden attack in the style of Pearl Harbor, which at present keeps both sides in a state of nervous apprehension. We should, therefore, welcome such an agreement, though only as a first step.

Most of us are not neutral in feeling, but, as human beings, we have to remember that, if the issues between East and West are to be decided in any manner that can give any possible satisfaction to anybody, whether Communist or anti-Communist, whether Asian or European or American, whether white or black, then these issues must not be decided by war. We should wish this to be understood,

both in the East and in the West. There lies before us, if we choose, continual progress in happiness, knowledge and wisdom. Shall we, instead, choose death, because we cannot forget our quarrels? We appeal, as human beings, to human beings: remember your humanity and forget the rest. If you can do so, the way lies open to a new paradise; if you cannot, there lies before you the risk of universal death.

Resolution

We invite this congress (to be convened) and through it the scientists of the world and the general public, to subscribe to the following resolution:

"In view of the fact that in any future world war nuclear weapons will certainly be employed, and that such weapons threaten the continued existence of mankind, we urge the Governments of the world to realize, and to acknowledge publicly, that their purposes cannot be furthered by a world war, and we urge them, consequently, to find peaceful means for the settlement of all matters of dispute between them."

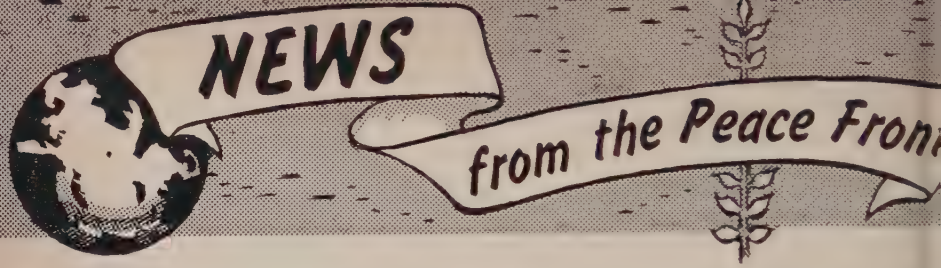
Prof. Percy W. Bridgman, Albert Einstein, Prof. Leopold Infeld, Prof. Hermann Joseph Muller, Prof. Cecil F. Powell, Prof. Joseph Rotblat, Bertrand Russell, Prof. Hideki Yukawa, Prof. Frederic Joliot-Curie.

COUNTERPLAY

The Einstein-Russell statement made no headway with **New York Times** science expert William L. Laurence, who dubbed it old stuff and inaccurate in an article in that newspaper on July 10. What the scientists did not recognize, said Mr. Laurence, was that the H-bomb is mankind's "only shield against aggression," a fact recognized by "all leading statesmen and military authorities." Moreover, he added, the danger of radioactivity had been exaggerated, since a "fundamental law of nature" is "that Uranium-238 cannot sustain a chain reaction."

Three weeks later the **Times** published a lengthy comment from top atomic scientist William C. Davidon, who observed mildly that the "shield against aggression" had become too explosive to tolerate, and that the inability of U-238 to sustain a chain reaction is irrelevant, since it can "capture neutrons," as cobalt does in a cobalt bomb.

"The essential fact," he wrote, "is that nuclear weapons have reached such a stage of development that their widespread use would kill large fractions of the world's populations, destroy cities, states and countries, and produce long-range effects lasting many generations."



George Houser Heads New Africa Committee

George Houser, Methodist minister and former National Projects Secretary of the FOR, has accepted the post of executive director of the American Committee on Africa, which he helped to found a little more than a year ago.

The Committee, with headquarters at 28 East 35th Street, New York City, has as its declared purpose "to help in every way the emergence of democratic, self-governing states in colonial Africa." Its predecessor was Americans for South African Resistance, which raised several thousand dollars for the nonviolent campaign "against unjust laws" in the Union of South Africa in 1952.

In its efforts to act as a clearing-house for information about democratic independence movements in Africa, the Committee publishes a bi-monthly, *Africa Speaks*, along with its work at the United Nations and with African visitors and students. Its "Project Fund" presently is rallying financial support for schools in the Gold Coast and South Africa. In the latter country, schools for Africans recently were confronted with the alternatives of teaching "apartheid" (separation of races) or losing the government subsidies that supported them.

A. J. Muste, secretary-emeritus of FOR, is a member of ACOA's sponsoring committee, which includes also such persons as Roger Baldwin, Stringfellow Barr, Mrs. Chester Bowles, Clarence Pickett, Norman Thomas, Howard Thurman, Channing Tobias and J. Waties Waring.

Muste Faces Communist At FOR Debate

Two men with diametrically opposite views on peace will debate their differences October 5 at the New Century Auditorium, 12 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, under the sponsorship of the Philadelphia FOR. They are Secretary Emeritus of the FOR, A. J. Muste and the National Legislative Director of the Communist Party, Dr. Albert Blumberg.

Plans for the Muste-Blumberg debate were laid last spring at the Milton Mayer-Morris Rubin colloquy sponsored by the AFSC. A member of the audience called on Mayer and Rubin to debate some of the assumptions Americans had made about the Communist movement, the Communist peace offensive, and other vital issues. Acting on this challenge, the Philadelphia FOR decided to take steps to arrange an FOR versus Communist approach to peace.

According to Bob Marohn of the Philadelphia FOR Executive Committee, "We felt that such an occasion was all the more appropriate for us in view of our settled policy of non-collaboration *organizationally* with Communist or popular front groups."

Nation's Repentance For Hiroshima Asked

The FOR called on Americans everywhere to look upon the anniversary of the dropping of the first atomic bomb as a "day of repentance."

A public statement signed by individual FOR members and others was published August 3 in *The New York Times*. It said in part: "There has never been anything like a national repentance for the crime of Hiroshima. . . . Let this Tenth Anniversary . . . then, be for the American people a day of repentance. . . . Let us reflect that the nation which took the initiative in discovering and using atomic power for unprecedented destruction has the responsibility now to provide leadership in finding new ways to use another kind of power, the power of love which is for the healing of the nations."

The *Call to Repentance* scored the creation of atomic arsenals by the Soviet Union and other countries and charged that a prerequisite for peace was "considerable moral change" on the part of Communists and "neutrals." It added, however, "But in our case all that many Americans consider is necessary is that we should continue to be much the same as we have been and are."

Citing the tragedies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as examples of "smugness" and "self-righteousness" on the part of some Americans, the statement said: "It has often been said that the annihilation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was really an act of mercy . . . by bringing the war to a quick close it spared many lives. This theory is based on the assumption that a land invasion of Japan would have been necessary to bring the war to an end if the atomic weapons were not used.

"It was known, however, at the time, that, in view of the havoc which had already been wrought in Japan, this assumption was an extremely questionable one. The event demonstrated, according to the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey, that it was false. It is the habit of governments when they resort to a new and more destructive weapon to proclaim that in so doing they are really saving lives and being merciful. The Nazis so characterized the blitz of Rotterdam and other cities. It is a habit which we should not have perpetuated, especially where atomic terror was involved."

Copies of the complete statement are available at the National FOR office.

George Hartmann, Caroline Urie, Die

George Hartmann, a long-time member of the FOR, died June 2 in Chicago. He had been chairman of the Department of Psychology at Roosevelt College.

George Hartmann joined the FOR in 1943, while teaching at Harvard. The author of *Gestalt Psychology* which brought him early fame in Educational Psychology, he once ran for mayor of New York on the Socialist ticket. During World War II, he headed "Peace Now," an organization of pacifists.

Caroline Urie, an FOR member since 1919, died last Spring. Although she was handicapped by lameness and old age, she was always one of the most active members in every major peace issue that came along.

Hopi COs Bring Grievances to Capitol

Six representatives of the Hopi sovereign nation went to Washington, D. C. last May to present their grievances to the President. They wanted to talk about grazing and agricultural rights, the sale of liquor to Indians, and Hopi participation in war. They didn't see the President, but did interview the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

The Hopis argued that their religion taught them to continue in peace with all men. "We have no right to fight people in other lands who have caused us no harm," they added.

It was noted that during World War II, Hopi COs went to prison for refusing to register for the draft. In June, 1953, they wrote President Eisenhower asking that all Hopi servicemen be released from military duty. "Our whole religious order, our culture, and our Hopi way of life are today seriously threatened by your war efforts," they wrote.

Says U.S. Will Drop A-Bombs First

"In another war, we shall, according to our military plans, again be the first to drop more atomic bombs. We shall do so for two reasons: it seems to be a simple and efficient way to wage war and second, we are unwilling to compete in the conventional means of waging war."

This opinion was voiced by the military analyst of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Brigadier General Thomas R. Phillips, (U.S.A. retired) in the July 9 "Atoms for Peace issue of *The Nation*. According to Phillips, "I had the edifying experience of listening to a senior State Department official explain that all wars have been horrible, that people have been killed in them, and that weapons are made to be used, and that certainly atomic weapons will be used in the next war."

He added that "the danger that a small war in which the United States would be the first to use atomic weapons might well turn into a major conflict is due in part to what may be called the militarization of thinking in the State Department."

Three reasons were advanced to explain why the U.S. has no choice but to use these weapons in another war: the unwillingness of the West to match the manpower in uniform of the Soviet Union; the "enemy's" possession of nuclear weapons makes it necessary for U.S. troops to disperse for defense against them—e. g., if the enemy attacks in stronger formations, we shall be unable to meet them, so we must use atomic weapons to make them disperse also; the cost and wastefulness of a double arms system, atomic and conventional.

FOR Secretary Home

John M. Swomley, Jr., Secretary of the FOR, returned early this month from a whirlwind tour of Europe and the Far East. His six-week itinerary took him to Portugal, Italy, Greece, Israel, Iraq, India, Thailand, Singapore, Switzerland and England, where he conferred with political leaders and FOR people on the political and social climate affecting these areas.

Swomley was also a leading speaker at the recent IFOR Conference at Vaumarcus, Switzerland. He will be busy this fall telling American audiences of his impressions during his trip.

CO Wins New Trial

The U. S. Supreme Court ordered a new trial for CO Perry Bowen Moore of Sullivan, Illinois, convicted of draft evasion.

The Court scored Federal Judge William Campbell of Chicago for refusing to let Moore and other witnesses take the stand for the defense because they refused to swear the usual oath or to "solemnly affirm" that they would tell the truth. "There is no requirement," the high court said, "that the word 'solemnly' be used in the affirmation, and the judgment of conviction is therefore reversed and the case is remanded for a new trial."

German Priest Presses For Peace Doctrine

Fr. Johannes Ude, German Catholic priest and former university professor, recently appealed to Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, a fellow Catholic, to take the question of whether the Fifth Commandment "is valid *with* or *without* exception" to the Pope.

In a dramatic "open letter" to Adenauer, Ude said that a papal pronouncement on this issue, "would be for the realm of the Catholic church, indeed even for the whole world, a historic, actually revolutionary event of the greatest significance."

Ude put the stamp of his pacifist beliefs in the letter when he said, "If the Fifth Commandment, *Thou Shalt Not Kill,* is valid without exception, then militarism with everything that pertains . . . is condemned by God as gravely sinful. It would then be quite senseless and superfluous to wrestle with arrangements for the abolition of ABC weapons, humane warfare, or *just* defensive war."

Answering the possible challenge that such thinking is unrealistic, he continued, "Perhaps, Mr. Chancellor, you will reproach me as not being a realistic politician. Yet as a convinced Christian, you must concede that Christ was the greatest realistic politician . . . that the observance of Christ's commandments in life is the only right and effective realistic politics."

Calling attention to his position that "only honest unarmed neutrality can and will keep our nation from the threat of war, build a bridge between Eastern and Western blocs, and prepare the way for a reunion of Western and Eastern Germany, since an unarmed Germany would no longer be a threat to its neighbor states."

Ude scored Adenauer for "forcing the German people to share your view" on armament, and urged him to take the issues of military duty, armaments and war, to a direct vote by the people.

Says Ike's Mother A Jehovah's Witness

The mother of President Eisenhower was a faithful member of Jehovah's Witnesses for 50 years, reported leaders of the movement. According to Milton G. Henschel, one of seven directors of the organization, "Ida Eisenhower was one of the most energetic preachers in Abilene."

He made it clear, however, that since the President was never baptized into the Witnesses, he was not obliged to remain aloof from war as its members do . . . "but obviously her views on this subject were quite different from his."

Irradiated Foods OK Report COs

Two CO's have completed without harmful results the first round of an experiment testing the effect of atomic radiation upon food.

For six weeks Abe Siemens, 20, of Buhler, Kansas, and John Meyer, 19, of Sterling, Ohio, ate only food exposed to atomic radiation at Fitzsimmons Army Hospital in Denver. Now they will join other COs in a series of tests involving foods subjected to greater radiation.

Meyer told newsmen that the group of nearly twenty men felt "we'd be doing something important and necessary. . . ."

Justice Dept. Admits COs' Rights

Conscientious objectors whose religious sincerity is challenged by their draft board are entitled to a full F.B.I. field investigation to determine the facts about their religious affiliations, the Department of Justice said recently.

Government lawyers said they agreed, in the light of recent Supreme Court opinions, that a conscientious objector does not receive the benefit of due process of law unless an F.B.I. investigation is made and the results furnished to his draft board.

In several recent cases, the court has criticized the Justice Department for not giving objectors a fair résumé of the evidence against them and not providing them with copies of its recommendations to the Selective Service appeal board.

The Supreme Court also set aside the conviction of Vern Davidson, former national secretary of the Young Socialist League, who was sentenced to three years in prison in 1953. But the justices sidestepped the constitutional issue raised by Davidson as to whether a religious belief in a Supreme Being is necessary to establish a claim for classification as a conscientious objector.

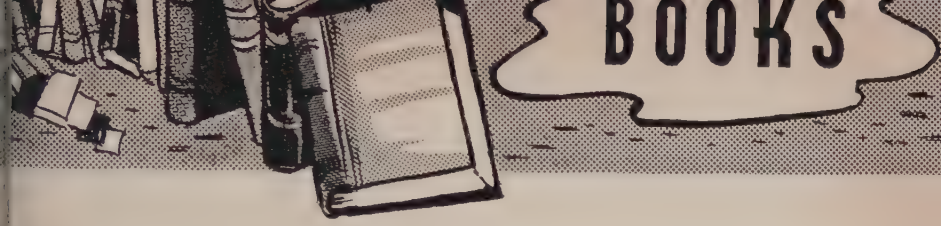
Davidson says he is an agnostic. When denied an objector's status, he refused to report for induction. Briefs filed with the high court indicated that his attorneys were prepared to argue that it was unconstitutional to allow objectors' status only to religious believers. The court found other grounds for freeing Davidson. It said he had not been permitted to see adverse reports made to the Selective Service appeal board by the F.B.I. and had no chance to answer the allegations against him.

European Secretary Here

André Trocmé, noted pacifist leader, is now addressing U.S. audiences in the Northeast and Middle Atlantic states. Emphasis of his lectures will be the Moslem world of North Africa and Lebanon, from which he recently returned.

His present itinerary will take him as far west as Minnesota, where he will address students at Macalester College and Gustavus Adolphus College.

The Middle Atlantic Conference of the Congregational Christian Church urged President Eisenhower to make public an evaluation by a scientific commission of the effects of "fall-out" from atomic explosions in view of the "general anxiety of the world's people concerning the possible danger of atomic atmospheric contamination."



A Tribute to the FOR

Part of Our Time: Some Monuments and Ruins of the Thirties, by Murray Kempton. Simon and Schuster, 1955. 334 pp. $4.00.

This book by Murray Kempton, columnist of *The New York Post*, is receiving enthusiastic reviews in all kinds of publications, and there are indications that it will become something of a best seller. It will deserve to be.

For members of the FOR the book has a special interest. One of its best chapters is devoted to a description and an analysis, incisive but not cruel or vicious, of J. B. Matthews and his career, which included a term of service as executive secretary of the FOR from 1929-1933. Kempton's comments on how that connection terminated furnish a good instance of the honesty, penetration, and charm of his writing.

"By 1933," he reports, "Matthews no longer believed in the FOR. . . . He was frank to admit that the Fellowship was of interest to him only as a base from which to preach a harsher doctrine, for, whatever they say of him, J. B. Matthews was not born to be an underground man." In November of that year, Kempton continues, "Matthews challenged the FOR to disavow absolute pacifism enough to permit its members to scrimmage on the barricades. . . To Matthews' surprise, his suggested adulteration of the doctrine of nonviolence was overwhelmingly rejected by the Fellowship's members and he was asked to resign as executive secretary." Kempton then pays us this tribute, of which God grant we may be and remain in some substantial degree worthy: "The wisdom of total pacifism may be subject to dispute, but nowhere does it look more fair than in its low rate of producing backsliders. The few who accept its cloak do not lightly put it aside; they are trained to stand their ground, moved no more by the winds of passing passion than by the sound of trumpets."

There were a few in the FOR at that moment—now 22 years ago and in an era from which we are much further removed psychologically and politically than chronologically—who agreed with "J. B.," but as Kempton points out, "so small a segment . . . followed him out that Matthews soon abandoned his original notion of forming a sort of Fellowship-of-Reconciliation-with-All-Save-the-Class-Enemy." He concludes this section with the true and moving remark: "The beauty of a strong, lasting commitment is often best understood by a man incapable of it, and Matthews has always been generous in his assessment of the FOR's judgment in losing faith in him."

I trust that by devoting so much space to one chapter, I have not given too limited an impression of the scope of the book. It is a highly important social document in the form of "a series of novellas, or portraits in depth," of key individuals and groups who were a part of or in significant ways—in some cases by contrast and opposition—affected by the Communist movement in this country. The best I can do in the space available is to run down the list.

The first chapter is on Alger Hiss and Whitaker Chambers, and presents an explanation of their relation not found elsewhere and characterized by Granville Hicks as the best yet presented.

The second chapter deals with Communists in the CIO and focuses on the contrasting personalities of Gardner Jackson and Lee Pressman. Chapter 3 deals with Communism and the strikes and unions on the New York waterfront and in particular with Joseph Curran, one of the few who was once a Communist and has remained a top-flight union leader.

The next chapter, on *The Social Muse,* deals with critics and writers who were, in many instances only briefly affected by the Communist movement. It provides valuable and often witty observations about such people as Edmund Wilson, John Dos Passos, James Farrell, Waldo Frank, Richard Wright, Nelson Algren, Clifford Odets, Grace Lumpkin, and so on. The chapter on Matthews on which I have already commented at some length is followed by one on the Hollywood writers, actors, etc., who got involved. It is entitled *The Day of the Locust.* Much of it is hilarious.

Succeeding chapters deal with Elizabeth Bentley and Anna Moos, and with the relation of Negroes to the Communist movement.

The moral passion which to me is Murray Kempton's greatest asset is especially evident in the closing chapter, in which he writes of the Communists and the youth movements. Here he is writing of things of which he was a part, for he was briefly in the YCL and for some years in the Socialist Party.

The chief guilt of most of the youth who got drawn into the Communist movement, he suggests, "was lying to and about themselves, and all the mean, uncounted little tricks which so many of the repentant now blame on a doctrine but which they were quite capable of thinking up all by themselves. I do not think it entirely my jaundice which has left these studies so barren of remembered acts of mercy or kindness or fraternity; I think that void exists because there was less kindness, justice, and brotherhood in the radicals of the thirties than in any other group of radicals in our history."

I think this is essentially a valid judgment and it is true in spite of the fact that among many Communists and fellow-travelers there was a great dedication to the cause in which they believed and a willingness and ability to suffer as well as inflict suffering. Fortunately for us and for America, Kempton is able to point out that there has also been another type of radical in American history whose voice was almost stilled in the thirties.

"He was the radical who dared to stand alone, to whom no man called out in vain, to whom the lie was dishonorable and the crawl degrading. He would, I think, have found it in himself to pity Matthews, Chambers, and Hiss alike because there would have been a

part of each of them in him." The author then comments on one of the radicals of this type and his very last sentence is: "I miss them very much and I wish we had them back."

I, too, sometimes think these days that in spite of all that we may criticize and regret in the thirties, they were in some respects superior to these prosperous and conformist fifties and that we'd be lucky if we had them back.

A. J. MUSTE

Gossip and Civil Liberties

The Sound of a Stone. 16 mm., color, 32 min. Radio and Film Commission for the Board of Social and Economic Relations of the Methodist Church, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill. Rental, $10.50.

The Methodists have made a commendable effort to deal with the problem of attacks on civil liberties in this new film. Target of the attacks is Henry Jordan, young high-school teacher, and the occasion is the discovery by the father of one of his students that a book recommended by Jordan is on a list of "subversive" titles. The teacher eventually is cleared before a school board meeting, when his accuser, having read the book in question, apologizes. The film ends, however, as a rock thrown through Jordan's window gives evidence that malicious rumors are harder to stop than to start.

Technically the film is good, although the acting is fairly wooden in spots. The victim, Jordan, is almost too innocent a bystander, and it takes some straining to believe that the recommendation of one vaguely identified book could arouse quite so much hysterical wrath directed against so honorable a life-time resident and active church member as he is shown to have been.

The weakness of the film, in fact, lies just here. It does not really cope with an issue of civil liberties, but with the evil of gossip and the hazards of mistaken identity. There are such cases, of course, but the crux of the civil liberties problem in today's United States lies in the treatment of genuine nonconformists, Communist and non-Communist alike. Henry Jordan is no nonconformist, and it is no trick at all to deplore the accident that befell him. Where the chips are down is in such cases as that recently "resolved" in California, with one teacher fired and another resigned because of affiliation with the FOR and the ACLU, or where a teacher refuses to take a loyalty oath, or is accused of subversion because of attendance at a Communist-sponsored meeting. This is the kind of hot potato we hope the Methodists and Lutherans and the National Council, with their big film budgets, will pick up one of these days.

Some Delightful Insights

Passion for Life. 16 mm, b & w sound film. English titles, 85 minutes. Brandon Films, New York. Rental fee: $50.

The experience of seeing what a combination of artistic skill and moral integrity *can* do with motion pictures in depicting the trials and triumphs of real people must inevitably deepen one's regret for the sad uses to which this medium most often is put. Viewing *Passion for Life* is such an experience.

A French film with English subtitles, the film tells an uncomplicated story of a teacher who comes to a school in a small French village. Succeeding a man whose idea of pedagogy was strict discipline enforced by "twenty lines of homework," the new teacher tries to "find the souls" of his pupils. The story of how he succeeds in reaching out with love instead of discipline makes a winning picture for pacifists as well as for educators generally.

Professionally excellent in execution, the film offers some delightful insights into the lives of the French villagers.

BRIEFINGS

Can We Immunize Against Prejudice? Columbia University Press Center for Mass Communication, 1125 Amsterdam Avenue, New York, N. Y. b & w sound, about 10 min. Rental: $3.

Simple abstract shapes and diagrams accompanied by narration attempt to demonstrate the difficulty of immunizing children against prejudice. The film offers no answers, but is intended to lead up to discussion. Its value even for this purpose is doubtful, since it merely repeats the problem without offering any particularly new insights into its nature or background.

The High Wall. 16 mm, sound, b & w. 32 min. Anti-Defamation League, 212 Fifth Avenue, New York 1. Apply for rental.

When a gang fight lands two boys in the hospital, a psychiatrist and a case-worker start the painstaking job of finding out what happened and why. What comes out of their investigations and interviews makes a gripping film, professionally taut and fast-moving, in which the characters are real people and their prejudices and fears the prejudices and fears of real people. Highly recommended as an excellent way to get a discussion going on the whole subject of brotherhood versus prejudice.

The Brotherhood of Man. 16 mm, sound, color. 10 min. Produced by United Auto Workers; available from local dealers. Rental: $5.

Animated color cartoons based on the Public Affairs pamphlet *In Henry's Backyard*, dealing entertainingly with the mistaken notion that there are important differences between races. Technically excellent. Its showing can provoke a good discussion.

Which Way for Human Rights? 16 mm, b & w sound, 10 min. Columbia Center for Mass Communication, New York. Rental: $3.

Narration and a series of still photographs combine to provide a not-very-effective film. The photographs are not all good, and one wonders why some more effective use of motion pictures could not be conceived than a series of stills.

LETTERS

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

In November 1951, one hundred Roman Catholics, priests and laity, meeting in Germany at a pacifist conference of the Catholic Working Group of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, signed an open letter to His Holiness Pope Pius XII. In this letter the Catholic pacifists appealed to the Pope "to condemn armaments and war, war in the form in which it is carried on today" and the Catholic pacifists went on to state to the Holy Father "should such a condemnation be impossible, we dare to address to Your Holiness the earnest plea to stand before the world states as mediator on behalf of those who at any moment must face the distress of conscience" in regard to their refusal to take part in war or military service.

Among those who signed this letter to the Pope were Father Pierre Lorson, S.J. (author of *Can a Catholic Be a Conscientious Objector?*), Father F. Stratmann (director of the Catholic Peace Union and author of *The Church and War*), and Father Manfred Horhammer (leader of the Pax Christi movement in Germany).

I sincerely believe that it is indeed time for American Catholic pacifists to compose such a letter, stating the Catholic pacifist position and urging the Holy Father to condemn all modern war and armaments and to speak out in behalf of the right of conscientious objection, and send it to the Pope with all respect and stating our loyal obedience to the teachings of the Holy See.

I am looking forward to hearing from FELLOWSHIP readers concerning this idea of a peace letter to the Holy Father.

DONALD REED

(Mr. Reed will be pleased to hear from Catholics about this matter. His address is 334 West 54th St., Los Angeles 37, Calif.)

Too Cynical

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I find your lead editorial in the June FELLOWSHIP ("Drill") in poor taste. Even assuming that most—or all—civil-defense preparations are useless, does it forward the cause of peace to write cynically, humorously (?) about these preparations? Is there not a more Christian way?

JAMES A. DECKER
Lee's Summit, Missouri

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

On reading the first editorial in the June issue I was deeply shocked. Even though there may be a wide divergence in the attitude of good men toward attack from the air as a possibility, and how to plan for protection in these dangerous times, how could anyone write and publish an editorial dealing with this subject lightly, humorously, with satire that certainly has no place here? Perhaps my own mind does not grasp the situation. Was it a proper editorial comment on the present day?

EDWIN T. EGLEHART
Katonah, New York

Why Not Now?

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

In the C.C.C.O. News Notes, there was an item about how Judge Wm. T. McCarthy of Boston felt about C.O.'s (they have "yellow streaks up their backs" and "should be put on a desert island to vegetate.") It got me so hopping mad that I just had to write him a letter explaining fully the C.O. position. Allan Hunter's "Courage in Both Hands" was a very useful source of illustrative case histories (particularly that of St. Maximilian) showing that it takes real courage to be, and not just be called, a Christian.

Judge McCarthy promptly replied, stating that he did not refer to sincere C.O.'s, only to those posing as C.O.'s "in order to escape the obligation to bear arms and defend their country in time of peril." He cited the case of Lew Ayres as an example of a sincere C.O. ("who risked his life on the field of battle but who in good conscience could not bear arms.")

Since the judge apparently still did not understand the completely consistent Christian position, it was necessary to write him another letter pointing out that there are men, like St. Maximilian, who cannot in any way take part in killing and destruction, not even in the way Lew Ayres did. To show more convincingly that cowardice does not come into question here, I included a long list of hazardous tasks voluntarily undertaken by C.O.'s in working for peace.

This experience helped me to realize that we should write not only to our lawmakers (and newspaper editors) but also to those who interpret the existing laws. We have a duty to make known what we believe in whenever the occasion presents itself, because not only our living witness, but our words, too, are a powerful leaven. Since the daily chore of earning a living frequently deadens our sensibilities, we may not take the time and effort to write. And it is so very easy to rationalize our not writing, because we know, as surely as we know that we exist, that our view will prevail ultimately.—But it won't prevail automatically! Besides, to quote a common advertising slogan, "Eventually—Why Not Now?"

REINO HAKALA
Fairfield, Conn.

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